by the court clerk, Shukir Effendi, with great ceremony until the debtor should pay. Again, a merchant and a butcher fell into a struggle in the market-place in Rowanduz because the butcher had reduced the merchant's infant children into the prevailing plight with his coins. Words passed, particularly on the side of the butcher, the merchant drew his khanjar, and one beaten from behind with a club by the butcher's son. At this point the police took them all in charge, and the judge, after some reflection on their respective characters, fined the butcher a diner for disturbing the peace.

Also without subscription to the primogeny are the teachers, appointed by the Ministry of Education and responsible to officers of the Ministry in Erbil. By law primary education in Iraq is free and compulsory, but this ideal is some distance from realization. In the Rowanduz district only a small number of children, even sons and daughters of ambitious or wealthy people, are able to attend primary school and fewer still go on to secondary education or to college. The primary school is entered at the age of six or seven, and consists of seven classes (beginning with the "twelfth class," corresponding to the American first grade and ending with the "sixth"). Subjects include reading and writing in Arabic (in Rowanduz there are special classes in Kurdish), mathematics, history, and social studies, and the course is normally completed at the age of twelve or thirteen. The intermediate school one is entered next, and consists of three classes ("fifth"

through "third"]. Subjects include Arabic, English, general science, geography, history, mathematics, and social studies, and is completed at the age of fifteen or sixteen. The pupil can next enter the secondary school, consisting of two classes ("second" and "first"), successful completion of which consists in matriculation for a college or university education. A successful student usually completes his secondary education at the age of seventeen or eighteen.

In the Rwanda district there are small primary schools at Ipuma and Nyina, but the center of education is in Rwamatuba. Here there are primary schools for boys and girls, and an intermediate school for both. After completion of the intermediate school, students who desire further education must move to Kabil, where they are quartered with friends or relatives, or, if means enough and possessed of the means, rent a house in common with a number of their fellows. Only one or two each year, however, go beyond the intermediate level in the district. The school year lasts nine months, approximating our own, and, as in the local government, Fridays and public occasions are holidays. Classes are held from 7:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. in summer weather, and from 8:30 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. in the winter. Pupils in the primary schools remain in the same class throughout the day. Boys and girls are mixed in the intermediate school (a matter of some concern to more conservative parents), and have different instructors during the day. In Rwamatuba there were in 1951 about 130 pupils

in the primary schools, and about 35 in the intermediate school. All of the children live in Rwamaiko itself, for there is no system of transportation for the children in outlying villages.

The primary school for boys is a large, mud-brick building standing within a wide grassy yard behind the canal. Constructed in 1935, it is in considerable disrepair today. Within it a number of classrooms open on a small central hall. There are dilapidated rooms for the teachers and the director, a "library," and a almost shapeless canvas gymnasium too. The furnishings, forms and benches of unpainted wood, are the poorest, and the teachers fondly hope for the future construction of a new school with better equipment. The poorer students are furnished their texts, similarly bedraggled from years of use, while those of wealthier homes purchase their own. The primary school for girls is a short distance up the street, a smaller, square mud-brick building established some years ago from private ownership. The intermediate school is to be found in the upper part of the town, a spacious single-storey structure of cement-block, completed in 1950.

The several instructors of the girl's primary school are women. Those of the boy's primary school and intermediate school are men, numbering nine in all, including the three school directors. Because the Turkish language is mandatory for beginning instruction, the teachers are either Muslim Turks or Christians, Europeans or Indonesians, most of whom come from Brill or Bhowl. Some

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In tracing the class make up of officials and officers, certain things from the initial discussion in this section may be seen. The first of these are the religious and ethnic divisions. Failing to mind the distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim, a number of Christians are to be found in the official class in Rawanduz, for example, the postmaster and several of the teachers. Because of their religion, these men are at some disadvantage among their colleagues. At a gathering to which one or more Christians have been invited, they may be underpressed whenever religious matters are discussed and are generally limited in the forcefulness of their words, for they are unable to argue with the fluency of expression permissible between fellow-Muslims. A Christian teacher cannot castigate his pupils with the freedom of some other, for the students are aware of his social inferiority. Sim- -ilarly, an awareness of the distinction between Kurdish and Muslim is also easily noticed. Of greater importance, however, is the division along national lines between the government class and the two other groups to be found in the town. Both the landed aristocracy and the townspeople are ethnically homogeneous, while the official class is diverse in its makeup, made up of Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, with the first group providing the greatest number. The Turks are little involved, but a Kurdish civil servant must be circumspect in his conduct and exercise some care that he does not exhibit what might be interpreted as revolutionary sentiments or

[VII]

[VIII]

skills, while having advantages of labour which will no longer be available when the girl is married. Very few boys, including Hilla, are to be found in the town, and the girls characteristically amuse themselves with an infant brother or sister as they might a plaything. Sexual education begins early in life, and does not seem to constitute a disturbing factor until adolescence. There is an attendant parental formula for manipulation, and it was said that "some parents beat their children for this, and others advise them." It might also be noted that obscene language is freely permitted in most Bantish households, except in the presence of the elder males. One, for example, heard a mother call her daughter a "prostitute," and a little girl, who could scarcely appreciate the meaning of the word, addressed her sister in the same fashion.

In adolescence the thoughts of the children of the two sexes turned a corner and those of the girls toward marriage. The boys of the lower classes are gradually introduced to the trades of their fathers, helping them in the shops, and the girls must account for many of the domestic tasks. The sons of the wealthier townspeople are occupied the greater part of the year with their education, while schoolmates of the poorer girls rarely ignore both school and labour, following their fathers and older brothers. The daughters of a number of wealthy families in Ruwenzori

friend school, but none has yet sought any other career than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, because it precludes a career in the government or the army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the primary extracurricular topic of the classroom, becomes an extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are discussed zealously. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very intimate associative friendship, may be a temporary feature of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be confessed that many of the young men of the town spend much of their time unemployed, lounging in the chaikhanas or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the army or patients requests, they are be exposed to influences of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in

[illegible]

Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form a type frequently encountered.

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[1]One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. The youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that he solicited passive coitus factors, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

accompanying on our own trips, without there being the slightest suspicion of difficulty with him. We [illegible] actually watched his existence as well did he fit into the various situations. In the once-populated home at Bokkeveld, however, I never saw my interpreter's mother, the elder of the two wives, run through the room with a gleaming ring from the fire to his bed with it for some reason or other. My impression was that the woman unjustifiably had demanded some service or other from the lad, which he had refused, and that it was she who was in the wrong.

In another urban milieu, an absolutely overbalanced one insofar as the woman was concerned, I once came across what we should term a difficult and malicious girl of 6-7 years of age. She was the elder of two girls, now whom having died, and the mother was clearly unbalanced because the two [illegible] present by neighbours and possibly also by parallel prostitution, had several times been about to shoot another with who would have like the one refused in the present wife. The child was a visible manifestation of the mother's conflict situations, and was, in my opinion, only to be considered as an [illegible] among the Kuvalai children I had an opportunity of observing.

By reviewing the activities of the children in and outside the home in the four different Xosa environments I learned to know in Southern Kuvalaga, an attempt will be made to give an impression of their significance and upbringing.

Small girls of the village aristocracy work part in women's home work according to their age and [illegible] ability. They assisted in rolling out the dough for baking from the age of three. They took the dough still when being rolled in by everyone, and kept the flies away when their elders were at meals. They helped to pick the vegetables in the field. They assisted adult men and women in the washing of hands, which took place in a squatting position whilst water from a jug was poured over the hands. They lifted the cauldron with charcoal and took part in washing-up. Later, the last task, they participated in the serving of tea, as it was the children, or, if none was present, the handiest in the company, who handed the tea glasses from the cauldron and returned with them when they were empty of tea. This was done with seriousness and decorum, and with no little pride at having reached the stage where that was entrusted to them. They attended to the small brothers and sisters, helped them to eat, and had small jobs on their backs when they left the house. School attendance was not part of their life process, it could, however, well be that to had altogether exceeding the village boy's school years.

Small girls of the village aristocracy were, when grown up, fully trained in the work expected of them. They were well-acquainted with home work, the care of children, and with decorous behaviour.

In Sheikh Dafiki's home at Tuguene most of the home work was done by a 17 year old daughter, who also acted in attendance if, for example, her mother wanted to take a bath in the lavender. It was said that each one of the sons—the eldest of whom was only 16—were happy with a daughter-in-law, the mother did not wish to give away in marriage the indispensable working power represented by her daughter.

The boys within the village aristocracy were sent to school. As they reached a suitable age, the sons [illegible] of the sheikh at Tuguene were sent to relatives' homes at Elimuk or Bokkeveld in order to attend school[1]. During these years they glided out of the village milieu, only returning as a darling their

common holidays. During their stay at home in the village they had the life of adult men, that is to say they spent most of the day outside the house in company with those of their own age. They went at night into love trials, and they slept late in the mornings. The only obligation resting on the sons of the house was the making upon any such guests who might be in the guest house, to whom they had to bring tea and food prepared by the women within the area of the family residence.

The elder of these two sons, aged 18, received as a newcomer with the European engineers at the Dokan Dam Site, which resulted in an irreparable breach in the pattern of behaviour, the consequences of which had far-reaching consequences. As the leading young man of the village, he left the district's farm every morning on horseback. The other lands from Tajawra and Kikawa covered on foot the distance between their villages and the Site (nearly an hour's walk), only coming in great common bands to the Dokan Dam Site he does was submerged among the other mechified Kurdish labourers, a thing both mechanic to novelty, concerning his inherited glory and distinction only when he rode back up the side of the mountain to his father's house. Here the 12 year old half-sister took charge of the horse, unsaddled it, put it out to grass, and then brought water to her half-brother for a thorough wash. A like was performed on the day homes outside the animal room and not in the guest house.

Despite the young man's admiration of the French group among the European engineers who chose to had meet to do, and a flirtation at a distance with one of the English girls, he gradually abandoned the calling of the house, for he early resolved money which was of no interest whatever to the aristocratic village calling, but he never succeeded in being accepted by the foreigners, a thing he had deliberately hoped for. He was a typical example of the cradle of an old pattern of life, with its firmly fixed code of values, being dissolved under European influence without anything of equal value being substituted in its stead.

The girls in a humble village environment, like those in the aristocratic, took part in domestic activities which also comprised the tending of water, often from far away, and milking out in the mountains. Small girls were always seen with smaller children on their backs, whom they helped with anything there was to do, and worked in the nearest watercourse if any accident occurred. Girls in the villages knew nothing of schools, but they grew up fully trained in their future duties as wives and mothers.

For the native schooling did not exist over the life pattern of boys often varying ordinary pursuits about and goats. They trotted goats from the mountains or fields, equipped with sacks and skillet. They helped in the field work and took the plough, which could be dismantled, from one field to another, up and down the hill side. By this participation in adult agricultural work they, like the girls, obtained a training which would there in good stead later in life.

In the third and fourth environments, the educated and semi-educated urban culture, school-going was necessary for both boys and girls.

An elementary school scheme exists in Southern Kurdistan consisting of a 6 year primary and 3 year secondary school. The latter is divided into a 3 year intermediate and a 3 year preparatory school with possibilities of transferring to a 4 year higher college. The school age is 7, and since 1946 a 4 years primary schooling is obligatory where possible.

In some villages there was a primary school, for example in Sulaiva, Sarkan and Sangsila, but not by any means in all. In Tagsarna and Rabzana there were no schools. Sometimes there would be a Crown school in connection with a mosque as, for example, at Sangsila, which children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Lungrigg and Scaldcrofts. I shall here deal with the reflection of the school in the home where I found the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write.

As pointed out for Lungrigg and Scaldcrofts, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools becomes "the watershed"[1] in a child's life. As Scottish, there decisive watershed can be seen if we observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western pattern, and in the Kurdish home.

The school and exercise books brought home by the Tagsarna district's 12 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unacceptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the home. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywhere except in the mud shelves, repositories for many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any work table in the dwelling pattern, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the homes offered neither space nor possibility for private life.

In my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, I found examples of the various training possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a folk school teacher at the Teachers' Training College at Baghdad[2]. During her studies she had lived there as a boarder. The morning here found two years of the girl was in need at one of the ten 6 years primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years of the were in need in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had when the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the Co-ed Girls School for Girls opened in Sulaimani in 1956. At her home I was able to see how incompatible in the family's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her 12 year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam to complete her 7 years intermediate school. Her school and exercise books, her pencases and rules, lay in the mud niches all mixed up with cups, glasses, medicines, she herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried to work in concentrate on the circles and triangles she was describing in the calculations she was engaged in. Finally she left the books. While books and drawing instruments made her black and she wandered off to play with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shortly after marriage to all national [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

were withdrawn would only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old enemy people who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and as modern ideas are brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, many of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependents, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by extremist calling themselves 'communists' or occasional hoisting over by students and former leaders.

Whatever the mistakes and shortcomings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the existence of the Kurds as such has come to be officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an incomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the ex-officials imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Minister of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, [illegible] (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Said, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.